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soon as the participants had recovered their breath after the last effort. Sometimes two sides charged each other, sometimes one or other party marched round a big tree in the centre of the ground, stamping and gesticulating wildly. Their rushes were very dramatic. Some had feather head-dresses, or bunches of bright-coloured parrot feathers in their hair, which, with the paint on their faces and the green leaves covering the upi, added to the effect. Many of the boys did not succeed in keeping their *upi* on their heads, but as there were no women present, they were not much concerned. It was the first time I had had an opportunity of seeing any boys without their head-gear. The hair of many of them fell below their waists, that of others, who had not worn the *upi* for so long, reached only to the shoulders.

After three or four such rushes in quick succession, there was a long wait, everybody in excited suspense. Then a man standing near me said: 'The *urar* are coming now.' Up the hill came a crowd of men, accompanied by two huge figures resembling the giant figures at carnivals. Each was carried by a man walking underneath it, the upper part of his body being inside the body of the figure. One wore a very large *upi* with an elaborate pattern in red and white. The face was roughly carved of wood, blackened and highly polished. The eyes were large and round, made, apparently, of a pair of trade spectacles. The mouths of both were wide open, that of the second had a large tongue showing. They represented a married couple, the one without the *upi* being the woman; her mouth was open because she was crying over her children, as the women cry when their boys are taken from them to go into the bush for the period of isolation prior to this ceremony. The bodies of both figures were covered with long strands of human hair, cut from the heads of previous *upi* wearers at the *wasipsip* ceremony. In the centre of the body was a slit through which the man carrying the figure could see where he was going. The figures finished off in a straight line just below the waist of the men carrying them, whose legs were not concealed at all. The female figure had no breasts represented,[1] and was indistinguishable from the male except for the absence of the *upi*. The hands were of wood, raised on each side, with the arms, which

[1] This is noteworthy, as physical details are usually portrayed with great realism on the representations of the human form made by these people. It may have reference to the legend of origin of the *upi* given on p. 194.

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were very long, bent up at a sharp angle. The thumb was nearly as long as the fingers, and the workmanship as a whole was very crude.

Presently a third figure appeared, also with an *upi*. The three were carried up the slope to the top of the cleared space, and down again, with all boys wearing the *upi* waving coco-nut palm leaves in front of them. This was done twice. One man acted as master of ceremonies, motioning with a stick when they were to go forward and when back. He was not dressed for the part, having only the usual dabs of paint on his face. As they turned to go back up the hill after the second downward rush, a fourth huge figure joined them, coming from the lower slope. This one had an *upi* also, and its face resembled those of the others, but its body was covered with moss instead of hair. This represented the *urar* of the bush. The men who carried them made them gesticulate with their heads and bend over, pretending to grab various people, who laughed and dodged them. They swayed from side to side and backwards and forwards, exactly as the carnival figures do. After a short time spent in this gesticulating, they were carried to the top of the slope and propped up against a tree beside a shed in which were the new *upi* ready for the novices. Men brought more baskets of food and put them in the shed. Then for a long time nothing further happened.

After a while the head of one of the *urar* was taken off (it fitted into a hole between the shoulders by means of a piece of wood extended from the neck), and head and body were carried off down the hill by two men. It was to be shown to the women from a distance; they were taught that it was actually the spirit appearing to them. One of the men took me down by another path which brought us out half-way down the broad track supposed to have been cleared by the *urar*. What followed was a most effective piece of stage-managing. Far below, across a narrow valley, on the slopes of the farther hill, stood a crowd of women and children, looking up past the wreckage to the top of the hill at a group of warriors, painted, armed, yelling, and blowing conch-shells. Suddenly the men made a rush half-way down the hill, past the place where I and my guide were standing, then, at a signal from the master of ceremonies, they dashed back, then forward again, this time bringing with them the *urar* figure, carefully keeping it in the background so that only its upper part was seen. The man who

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carried it made it bend from side to side, and forwards, as if to threaten the frightened crowd of women far below, who shrieked and wept, not a few of them running away into the bush. Above the shouting, yelling, and clashing of weapons, sounded the always mysterious and terrible boom of bull-roarers somewhere in the background. To the women, this sound is the voice of the *wur* saying that he is about to eat their sons and brothers. After one rush, the *wur* figure was taken back to the shed.

Meanwhile, some old men were cutting branches and wild bananas leaves, and making a rough shelter near the top of the cleared space. Then the novices, who until now had been kept in hiding in the bush, and had taken no part in the proceedings, were led up the slope from the other side, near the bottom of the cleared space. There were about forty of them, the smallest I thought not older than five, the largest somewhere in his later teens. The small boys wore tiny conical hats made of dried leaves, in shape exactly like the dunce's cap of old-time country schools. The bigger boys had hats shaped like *upi* except that the top was pointed instead of flat. They came up in single file, and were marshalled into a group in the centre of the cleared space (Pl. 21). All of them looked scared, or at least very solemn. They had been kept in ignorance of what was about to befall them.

Some older men made a ring round the group of novices. Then all the boys already wearing *upi* and most of the other men present made a rush at the novices and pretended to attack them, with spears levelled, arrows fixed at bowstrings, axes brandished, shouting or blowing conch-shells. They retreated, and then came back again, retreated again, advanced a third time, this time with the *wur* figures in the rear. Once more they retreated and advanced, bringing the *wur* figures close to the group of novices. The men carrying the figures manipulated them very cleverly, so that they seemed to bend over the boys, pretending to seize them by the shoulder (Pl. 22). Some of the smaller boys set up howls of terror, which were lost in the general din. The effect was well calculated to impress and terrify the youngsters.

After several minutes of this performance, the *wur* figures were taken up to the newly constructed shelter near the top of the hill, and hidden behind the leaves of which it was built, the head and shoulders of one of them showing over the top. The men who had been carrying them came out from under them, leaving them

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881 propped up against the shed. One man went into the shed, carrying two axes. Another stood just outside, holding half a coco-nut shell full of some red-coloured liquid, which I afterwards ascertained to be the sap of a certain plant (called in the Kurtatchi dialect *muntĕ*) intended to represent blood. Two men went to the group of novices and seized a boy, carrying him face downwards, one holding his shoulders and the other his feet. They took him, still in this position, up to the shed. Here they held him with his head hidden behind the leaves of which it was composed (Pl. 23). The old man inside clanged his two axes together. This represented, I was told, the killing of the boy, and as he was carried out, the man outside dipped his fingers into the coco-nut shell, took up some of the liquid it contained, and made a dab on each side of the back of the boy's head. This represented the blood of the novice, whom the *urar* was supposed to have killed. Then he was carried back to the group, and laid face downwards on the ground, on which a long row of wild banana leaves had meanwhile been spread. More banana leaves were spread over him, completely covering him up, including his head. He was told to lie still and keep his head down. Another boy was then seized, and the performance was repeated till all the novices lay upon the ground covered with leaves. One man carried the smaller boys and two the bigger ones. As each was brought up another man took the hat from his head and laid it aside. These hats were to be burned after the ceremony.

Most of the boys lay very still, but here and there a head would be raised now and then, to be promptly pushed back under the leaves by the men in attendance. After a short wait two old men walked on each side of the line, one up, the other down, howling and crying out repeatedly: '*O! O! kŏ'ma pĕnĕ to mat e na*' ('Oh! Oh! my child is dead') (Pl. 24). When each man had reached his end of the line, another man pulled the leaves off the prostrate boys, and at a signal from him they all stood up, still keeping in line. An old man came round with a banana shoot in his hand and made the motion of touching the mouth of each one. This part of the ceremony is called *ran-gan-ga*, the making alive again. The banana shoot belongs to the *urar*, who gives it to one of the *tmuam* so that he may bring the boys back to life again; it is very strong medicine.

Then one big fellow at the head of the line, whose hair reached

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to his waist, was pulled out and escorted down the hill where the *wrar* had appeared to the women. He was to be shown to them as a sign that their sons, whom they believed to be eaten by the *wrar*, were alive and well. He was away a long time; meanwhile the novices remained in line, standing as still as they could. Finally he came back laughing, and stood for a while chatting with a group of men beside the line, afterwards taking his place again at the head of it.

Then a procession of older men, some of them quite elderly, came up the slope. Each of them had an *upi* on his head. These were the fathers or brothers of the novices, wearing the new *upi* especially prepared for the boys. They managed their unaccustomed head-gear awkwardly, and looked self-conscious. One let his *upi* fall to the ground; this was greeted with laughter and shouting, and was evidently regarded as a great joke. They stood together in close formation, stamping their feet in rhythm and shouting. Then they walked several times round the line of novices. Two of them carried *upi* of enormous size, with very elaborate patterns on them, coloured red and white. These were laid for a second on the head of each novice in turn, one man going up the line and one down, so that each boy had both *upi* put on his head. I learned subsequently that these were the *upi* worn by the *wrar* figures. They are the sign of the *wapi'upi*, i.e. the novices of *tsunaun* lineage. But they are put on to the heads of all the boys in turn because all—*tsunaun* and commoners—are going through the *wapi* ceremony together.

After this the boys' own *upi* were put on. Everybody crowded round to help to fasten them. Some had to be fixed with the aid of sticks and bits of rag, as the hair was not long enough to keep them in place. When all were fitted, the line broke up in confusion. The ceremonial *upi* were carried up the hill to the shed where the *wrar* figures were. The newly invested novices, henceforward themselves known as *upi*, strutted about, evidently feeling very important, and, judging by their furtive lifting of hands to steady the clumsy head-gear, more than a little uncomfortable.

By this time the sun was getting low, and as most of the visitors had a long way to walk home, the gathering soon dispersed. The initiates went back to the bush, where they were to remain till they had learned how to keep the *upi* in place, after which, on the performance of another ceremony (to be subsequently described), they would return to their own villages.

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PLATE 25

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MALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[FACING p. 212]

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PLATE 26

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FEMALE *URAR* FIGURE AT *WAPI* CEREMONY

[facing p. 213]

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so. Their hair fell about their shoulders in long matted strands, reaching, in many cases, below their waists. Some had fixed a piece of wood, about three feet long, across their locks at the level of their shoulders, and fastened their hair to it in spread-eagle fashion, twisting all sorts of leaves and creepers into it.

After a great deal of rushing about and shouting, the *urar* figures were brought out, mounted, as on the previous occasion, on men's shoulders. First came a male figure, wearing a giant *upi* (Pl. 25), then a woman's figure, representing his wife, both covered with hair cut from previous *upi*-wearers. In contrast to the female figure at the ceremony previously described, this one was furnished with female breasts (Pl. 26). There were four other *urar* figures, with slightly differing heads. One of these was taken away to show to the women from a distance, to the accompaniment of the whirr of two bull-roarers. Then the novices were brought out; only fifteen of them this time. Their heads were bare; there were none of the conical hats such as had been worn by the novices at the other performance. They were grouped together with their *amro* round them, and the *urar* figures were made to bend over them, gesticulating wildly, and going through the motions of killing them, two axes being knocked together to imitate the noise of the blows. This was done once and for all, to all the novices *en bloc*; there was no dramatic presentation of the boys one by one as on the former occasion. They were then laid out on the ground for dead, and covered with leaves. Then the female *urar* came and gesticulated over them, bringing them to life again. By this time the light was failing, and as there was much crowding and pushing on the part of the spectators, it was difficult to see clearly just what was done. I was told later that the female *urar* was supposed to give the boys her urine to drink, by pouring it over them, but that it was not really urine, only water. All the boys got up and stood in a group. There had been a great deal of muddle and delay in the earlier part of the day, and now darkness was upon us before the ceremony was finished. It was therefore decided to defer the putting on of the new *upi* till the next day, when it would be done at dawn, without further ritual, they told me. Nothing would have induced my party to stay in the mountains all night, so I was reluctantly obliged to return with them, without seeing this.

This performance of the *wapi* ceremony was not nearly so

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spectacular as the other, though there were many more people present. They had not prepared the ground so well, and it was too flat to give the same opportunity for dramatic effect as was provided by the steep slopes of the other site. The whole thing was much less effectively stage-managed, and I was very disappointed at not seeing the end of it. But it gave me an opportunity of learning new details, and I have reported it thus fully as an example of the kind of variation that may be expected in traditional ritual as performed by different local groups.

THE *URAR* FIGURES

The figures used in the *wapi* ceremony to represent the *urar*, or spirits of the dead, are made by the older men in the bush, under conditions of the greatest secrecy. They remain hidden in the bush till wanted. They are made of wood, their faces are painted, and their bodies are covered with the hair cut from former initiates at the *wanipsip* ceremony, or, in some cases, with moss. After the ceremony the hair is carefully removed and stored again in the *tobar* for future use. The figure is burnt, together with its *upi*, if it has worn one. I have no details about the manufacture of these figures, except this small point. The man who makes them chews the root of the plant *nin* and spits inside the figure, to ensure that it shall not be heavy when carried on the shoulders.

Each figure represents an individual *urar*, whose name it bears, for example Buwō, Bupsuip, Kowō (a female), and Upitomet. The last name was borne by a small boy of Kurtatchi, who had received it at the re-naming ceremony described on p. 219. The more figures there are, the more successful the ceremony. Two are not enough. On our return from a *wapi* ceremony, the question most eagerly asked by those who had not been present was: 'How many *urar* were there?'

The drawing reproduced in Fig. 7 is a young man's representation of one of the *urar* figures being carried on the shoulders of a man at the *wapi* ceremony. He had been mysteriously busy with pencil and paper for some time in the farthest corner of my verandah, and when he finally produced and explained it, begged me not to show it to any one in the village or to tell any one that he had drawn it, because the old men would be very angry with him for doing so.

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THE BULL-ROARER

The whirring of the bull-roarer (*guēv*) represents the voice of the *urar*. Among the people of North Bougainville, this instrument belongs exclusively to the *wapi* ceremony and has no other

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FIG. 7. *Urar* figure at wapi ceremony, being carried on the shoulders of a man. The figure has an *upi* on its head and a bull-roarer in each hand. Drawn by a young man.

function at all. It plays no part in the other two ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. It is very sacred. The people believe that if a man makes it for no reason, he will die.[1] Only a

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[1] Before I knew this, I tried to persuade one of the Kurtatchi boys to make me a model of one, thinking it would be impossible to persuade them to part with one that had actually been used in a ceremony. He refused point-blank without giving any reason, and I saw by his manner that it would be unwise to

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few know how to make it; those who do not must pay a man to make one when they need it. It must be paid for with *imun* (ceremonial currency made of porpoise or flying fox teeth) and several pigs. The wood of either of two trees may be used, the names of which are *iwiy* and *torus*; both are hard-timbered trees. The string is called *inuts*, but is the ordinary twisted fibre string. To sound the bull-roarer is *wawiura*.

The bull-roarer may be sounded during the preparations for the *wapi* ceremony, as well as during the actual performance. During this time the men of one village will sometimes go in the night and sound the bull-roarer outside another village belonging to the group, whereupon the men of the second village must bring out a pig and give it to the bull-roarer party. Shortly afterwards they will go and sound their own bull-roarers outside the original village, and will receive a pig in return. This is all a part of the mystification of the women, who know that the time is near when their sons will be taken from them by the *urar*, and who believe—or are supposed to believe—that it is his voice which is heard near the village during the night, calling for the boys. If the men of any village were to sound the bull-roarer at any other time, all the other places would be very angry, and would 'make poison' against the men of the offending village. The bull-roarer is too terrible a thing to be played with, even though the men all know what it really is.

Like the *upi*, the bull-roarer is supposed to have belonged in the first place to a woman. The story of its origin runs as follows:

A woman once went to cut firewood in the bush. When she had finished cutting firewood the sun had already gone down. She picked up a piece of wood and knocked it on a log. It split in two. One piece flew up into the air and made a noise like this (here the teller imitated the noise made by the bull-roarer). The woman jumped up in a fright: 'What is that?' Then she thought: 'It is something very good. It belongs to me, I found it.' She threw away the other half of the broken

press the matter. A rather more sophisticated man from another village also refused, saying that the people would be angry with him if he did. However, shortly before I left, one of the younger men, who had been a plantation labourer, came to me secretly with one which he had made, saying I could have it if I did not tell any one he had made it. Eventually he brought me also two which had actually been in use, under the same conditions of secrecy, but with the permission of his father, to whom they belonged. Though I was glad to be able to bring home specimens of the bull-roarer, the incident shows only too plainly how the traditional sanctions are weakening.

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pigments. The *amro* of the *wagi'upi* (i.e. those of the novices who are *tsunaun* and therefore leaders of the group) take up their charges on their shoulders, the others walk. They return to the village, where everybody gathers to receive them. As they come up, all the people dance, the men doing the ordinary *kōma* and blowing the Pan-pipes, while the women, decorated with girdles of aromatic plants, form a line, and as the boys come towards them, do the special form of song and dance called *dāni*. Arrived at the centre of the village, the *wagi'upi* get down from the shoulders of their *amro*, and all the novices partake of taro and water, given to them by their *amro*. The women are not allowed to give them food as yet. This ceremonial return of the novices is called *wawats'upi*.

The novices then go down to the shore, if it is a coast village, and stand in line close to the edge of the sea. All women, not only the *tsina'upi*, pour sea-water over the boys' legs; this removes the prohibition under which they have been since the *wapi* ceremony, forbidding them to go into the sea. The women all rejoice because the boys have come back. The mothers pretend not to know their sons; they say: 'Before, he was a little fellow; we think this is another boy.' The boys may now remain in the village. They cannot under any circumstances return to the *nōnō*, and must avoid that part of the bush in which it is situated until it has fallen to pieces. They sleep in the *tobar* (boys' house) belonging to their own clan, and are from this time forward subject to all the rules and restrictions attendant upon the wearing of the *upi*, which will be discussed in the following pages.

For a few days the *amro* also sleep in the *tobar*. They may not enter their own huts or have intercourse with their wives until the *kwigin* have taken bamboo-lengths full of water and poured it out in front of all the huts belonging to the *amro*. After that the *amro* resume their normal life. If an *amro* has intercourse with his wife during the prohibited period, the *urar* will cause illness to come upon the woman, and should a child be born of such intercourse, it will resemble the figures of *urar* that are made for the *wapi* ceremony, that is, it will be without legs, and will have two heads, one growing out of the top of the other; this refers to the head of the *urar* appearing above the head of the man on whose shoulders it is being carried, who looks out of a peep-hole in the body of the figure. It is said that this taboo is so strong that no *amro* would dare to break it.

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881 as at the *watawutf*. After this all the people *hōma* until sunset, when the dance must stop. Then the boys go to their mother's huts. If they wish, they can still sleep in the *tobar*, but they are not obliged to do so, and those who are married may cohabit with their wives.

292 The discarded *upi* are burnt, but the hair which is cut from the 778 heads of the initiates, by this time very long—some say it may be down to their ankles—is carefully stored away in the *tobar*, to be used subsequently for making *urar* figures for use at a future *wapi* ceremony.

885 This concludes the series of ceremonies connected with the wearing of the *upi*. The boys are now known as *tagutsu*, and take their places in the village as adult men.

881 TABULATION OF PROCEDURE CONNECTED WITH THE *UPI*

Native Term.	*Description.*	*Time (approx.).*
	I. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH *WAPI*	
1. *pinpin*	Boys go to bush in day-time only, return to village at night.	Fixed by *tsunam*.
2. *watagi'upi*	Mothers take farewell of their sons before seclusion.	Several days after 1.
3. *wanilbi*	Period of complete seclusion in bush.	Formerly about a year, now about 3 months.
4. *WAPI*	Ceremony at which *upi* are put on.	Occupies most of a day.
(i)	Visiting parties received at appointed place with mock fighting.	
(ii)	*Urar* figures shown to the visitors, and, from a distance, to the women, with sounding of bull-roarer.	
(iii)	Novices brought up and form a group surrounded by *awo*.	
(iv)	Pretended attack on group by assembled company.	
(v)	Men carrying *urar* figures descend on novices and make the figures gesticulate over them.	
(vi)	Novices carried one by one into shed hiding *urar* figures, pantomime of killing novices.	
(vii)	Novices laid, as if dead, on the ground and covered with leaves.	
(viii)	Novices restored to life by agency of *urar*.	
(ix)	*Upi* placed on heads of novices, who return to their place of seclusion.	

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but other ingredients must be added just before the ceremony takes place.

Into the mixture in the *kōbū* Pinari scraped a small quantity of the red powder called *oin*, which was handed to him in two halves of coco-nut shells. Then, with an air of mysterious dignity which clearly indicated that the action was one of great importance, he produced from the folds of his loin-cloth a very small piece of stone, which looked like some volcanic substance containing sulphur. He scraped a very little of this into the mixture, which, he said, already contained some of it, and then carefully folded the remainder into his loin-cloth again. This stone is called Mumariria. The large stone from which the fragment was taken is at Soamets, a place about twenty miles down the coast to the east. [The stone lies on the edge of a little river where the mangroves grow. It belongs to the Nakarib clan, some members of which are in especially close association with it. One of these was a Soamets woman, now dead, called Mariria. If Pinari's sister's daughter, Rus, should bear a girl child, she will be called Mariria, and will inherit the special association with the stone from her namesake. If a man belonging to any other clan goes near it, the stone 'fights him' and he dies. If men from another village want to buy some of the stone to make 'medicine' for their own taro, Pinari sells them a piece off the back of the stone, which is no good, and will not make the taro grow. But when he wants it for himself he takes it from the front of the stone, then it is very powerful medicine.]

After adding the Mumariria, Pinari called for water, which was brought in coco-nut shells. The contents of three of these were emptied into the mixture, which Pinari then stirred round with his hand.

Meanwhile the other men had been cutting small pieces of wood, each about 4 inches long, carefully measured against one another so that they should be of the same length. There were two kinds of wood, *kunis* and *tario*. The essential thing is that both these are hard wood, and so will cause the taro stalks to grow strong. If sticks of soft wood were used the taro stalks would be rotten and would stink. One piece of each kind was tied up in a bundle with two leaves of *korowin*, one leaf from a variety whose leaves are all green, the other from a kind whose leaves are green on the upper side and red underneath. The stalks of these leaves were

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789 Bunabuoie, Bunasom, Bunasobak, all famous rain-makers in their day. Beside the box containing these stones stood a kerosene tin full of the mixture of salt water, fresh water, and sap with which he filled the coco-nut shells, and another tin containing rain-water.

789 When he wants to make rain, he washes each of these stones with rain-water, in which he has put the leaves of two plants, 824 *tataboan* and *malias* (unidentified). He stirred up the tin to show me the leaves at the bottom, and poured a little of the water out and back again. As he did so there was a peal of thunder, which he attributed to his having touched the water. It was, oddly enough, the only peal that day. Having washed the stones, he rubs them with the mixture of wet leaves. Then he fills up the five coco-nuts, and puts them in a tree, resting them in one of the *topa* (elk-horn ferns, which abound on the trunks of trees in this region; their leaves are spread out into a kind of cup in which the coco-nuts could be lodged safely). If you want wind as well as rain, you choose a *topa* which is near the top of the tree, if you want rain only, you choose one which grows low down. After five days, come and take out the leaf stoppers of the coco-nuts. To stop the rain, take down the coco-nuts, pour out all the water, put back the leaf stoppers, and cover up the stones and other apparatus.

789 Riamē said he could not give me one of the stones, because they 431 belonged to the past, but he offered me one of the five coco-nut shells with the mixture it contained. The gift was entirely spontaneous on his part; he said I could make rain with it in my own country.

789 The place where the stones are kept is not hidden, but the other people are afraid to go near it. Before I knew what the queer-● 778 looking group of objects signified, I once, when walking near the spot with some little boys, went towards it to see what it was. The [753] boys, very scared, called to me to come away, or I would get boils on my skin! So I did not pursue my investigations further at that time. When I was taken there by the appropriate person, he was most careful that no one should see us set out, and looked back several times to make sure we were not followed.

789 This form of procedure has not yet been taught to Kakari, but there is another method, not involving the secret of the stones, of which he is in possession. Riamē learned it from the Amun people, living some little distance away. Kakari has not yet become a very successful rain-maker. He told me one day that he thought some

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789 depend upon what may perhaps be termed the principle of attraction. The explanation given by the natives of the working of the 'medicine' to make a very high tide, is that the sea will be 'pulled up' by the mixture in the coco-nut which you bury above high-water mark. If you spit the chewed root of a certain creeper in the direction of a rain-cloud, it will come up and rain will fall. If you rub the scrapings of a root on the door of your hut, the wife who has left you will have her thoughts turned homewards and will return to you.

An idea underlying other forms of magic, which appears to be somewhat different from any of the foregoing, depends upon the principle of transference. A bundle of leaves is laid on the thigh of a man suffering from the effects of 'poison', a branch is waved over him in a downward direction, and the poison 'goes down into the bundle', which is then thrown away. Some of the methods of counteracting mimetic magic seem to involve transference, as when the effect of the contraceptive is removed by throwing away the root into running water. In some instances there is a near approach to the conception of the 'scape-goat', as in the treatment of the pig at the ceremony for a child of rank described in Chapter V (p. 190). I would suggest that this idea of transference is also implicit in the ritual play which forms part of the marriage ceremony, the first menstruation ceremony, and the ceremony performed when a child of rank is first allowed to be placed on the ground.

The use of talismans and amulets is very general. The bones of a river fish or the dried nest of a bush insect hung from a string round the neck of a baby will make it grow up healthy and strong. Carried somewhere on the person of an adult there will often be found a tiny bundle wrapped up in a leaf. This will probably contain scrapings of roots or leaves, perhaps mixed with lime or paint, and often with the addition of human remnants, such as portions of the skin, nails, or hair of a dead relative, or of an enemy who has been eaten. Often the possessor of such a bundle does not know what it contains, having obtained it, perhaps, from a native of a distant village, as being efficacious against 'poison' or in some other desired direction. These things are all called *ito*.

789 Of all the various substances used in magical procedure, there
715 are two which are considered more powerful than all the rest. The
778 most powerful of all is the stuff called *sisina*. The very mention of
823 the word excited a certain amount of emotion in the person speak-

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ing it, even when giving explanations to me apart from any actual ritual occasion. It is obtained from the Hahon people, in exchange for ceremonial currency and other valuables. They are said to get it from a hot spring in the mountains, at a place which belongs to Tosisiup, who lives in the volcano Balbi and has power over all the *urar* (see p. 505 for further account of him). It was only with great difficulty and in exchange for a valuable present that I was able to obtain a small quantity. It proves to be lava which has been attacked by acid vapours after the dying down of volcanic activity.[1]

The power possessed by *sisiwa* is not specific, since it is employed for many purposes. Its use in love magic, in fishing magic, and in a form of black magic has already been noted. It is significant that no formula is ever used in conjunction with this substance. On making careful inquiries as to this, I was told that *sisiwa* is such strong medicine itself that it does not need any words used with it. This definitely stated belief goes to show that for these people magic is not an essentially human possession, literally and actually enshrined in man' (Malinowski, 1926 (2), p. 71). The underlying principle here seems rather to approach the conception familiar to anthropologists as *mana*, though I did not come across in these dialects the actual word *mana* or its equivalent. This 'wonder-working power perceived or at most dimly conceived by the savage to exist in whatever excites his awe' (Marett, 1929, p. 14) the *sisiwa* would acquire from its origin in the place belonging to Tosisiup, the ruler of all the *urar*, everything connected with whom is regarded by these natives with awe. This brings it into line with Codrington's statement that 'spirits, whether disembodied souls or supernatural beings, have *mana* and can impart it' (1891, p. 119).

The connexion with the spirit-world, or rather with the place of ghosts, is further emphasized by the fact that the other of these powerful substances, only less mighty than *sisiwa*, is called *magór*. Magor is the name of Tosisiup's brother, who is second only to him in the realm of the dead. The magic mixture contains scraps of bark, roots, and leaves, belonging to various plants, and *oin*, which is red oxide of iron. Unlike *sisiwa*, it may be associated with a form of words, as in the love magic given on p. 122 and the taro magic given on p. 301. But it is sometimes used alone, e.g. in fishing magic, where it may be chewed and spat on to the line. Another of its virtues has not yet been noticed. To make a man

[1] I am indebted to Mr. C. J. Bayzand for this analysis.

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cease to be angry with you, chew *magor* and spit it in his direction, then say to him: 'Why are you and I fighting?' Then he will feel kindly towards you. It is interesting to note that the influence of *magor* is supposed to extend also to white men. When a visit from the District Officer is expected, the villagers of Kurtatchi chew *magor* and spit it around the place to ensure that he will not be angry with them! It will be seen that the power of *magor* is not specific, and I think it is fair to see the idea of *mana* underlying the use of this substance also. These two substances are the most precious possessions these people have, and are regarded as in a class different from, and ranking far above, the ceremonial currency in which they reckon their wealth.

Among the natives of North Bougainville, *mana* seems to belong not so much to the individual who performs the ritual acts as to the substance he uses. There are no persons set apart as 'medicine men' who have qualified for the post by long training or by undergoing ordeals. I am not aware of any word in these dialects which means a maker of magic, except in the case of black magic, which stands in a class by itself. Otherwise the distinction is between those who know the procedure and possess the requisite apparatus and those who do not. Thus, Sobak and Riamē were competent to act as rain-makers, Pinari was the specialist in dog magic, Minka in bonito magic, Pari in the treatment of sprains and broken bones, and so on. But Riamē could not make rain without his coco-nuts, nor Minka bring bonito without his stone fish. Again, in the description of the taro-garden ceremony given in Chapter IX it will be seen from incidents occurring in connexion with the proceedings that it did not greatly matter who actually took the principal part in washing the taro-stalks; the *ēto* was clearly regarded as the factor of primary importance.

There are some other substances which, while not themselves *ēto*, are frequently used as adjuncts in various forms of magical procedure. Among the most important of these is the red powder called *oin* (iron oxide) which, besides being used in personal decoration, as described in Chapter XI, also plays a part in a large number of 'medicines', both for rubbing on externally, and also for swallowing, in conjunction with the appropriate leaves, roots, or whatever it may be. It is to be noted that its virtue does not appear to lie in the fact that it is red, since there are other varieties of red 'paint' (*owan* and *itfu*, see p. 416) which are used for decorative purposes

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765 set up a tree with plenty of branches on it in the middle of the place called *wanib*, and hang up the belts on it.

Some additional details concerning the women's first visit to the taro garden after their seclusion were given me in the course of an account by another informant, an old man, at a later date. The widow plants a taro stalk, another woman takes it out again and lays it on the ground, then another woman plants it again, and this goes on till all the women in the village have had their turn. [778] Then the women stick up a tree in the taro garden and hang ornamental and aromatic leaves on it; the widow, as she hangs each spray, calls out the names of all her relatives who are dead, saying: 'My mother, I put this *nibnib* (ornamental plant) for you', 'My father, I put this *nibnib* for you', and similarly for her brother, her sister, her child, her *waris*, if they are dead.

[565] Then one man who is *tsunaun* makes a fire and calls the names of all the *urar*, who have died before. He puts taro, coco-nuts, and areca-nuts on the fire, the fire burns them up. Then the men start working on the taro garden, clearing away the rubbish, and the women plant.[1] While they are working they must not eat. If they were to do so, the *urar* would fight them and make them mad. They all put lime in front of their ears. They take down the belts from the tree where they have been hanging and put them on again. Then, if the fire has been made and the food burnt, they may eat a little in the *wanib*.

765 824 565 Then a *ta'un* plant (a species of cordyline) is planted in the *wanib*. Every one goes off and hides just outside the taro garden. The *ta'un* plant stands up on the edge of the taro garden. Then a man who is *tsunaun* calls out the name of the man who has died. The wild spirits of the bush answer the first time, the man calls out twice more, then the dead man's own spirit (*abin*) comes howling. The *tsunaun* calls out: 'You come, let us go to the village, all the people have gone.' They all look at the *ta'un*; if it bends over, the man's spirit (*abin*) is sitting on it.[2] If it does not bend, the

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[1] As explained in Chapter I, taro can be planted at any time of the year.

[2] Compare with this the procedure employed to know whether a man gravely ill will die or will recover. 'Take the root of the plant *warkôt* and give some to the sick man to eat. Take also a small branch of the same plant and hold it upright near him. If he is to die his *abin* will come and sit on top of the branch and it will bend over, if he will live it will stay straight.' This procedure was taught to Tchiriv by the *urar* at a time when he was *ibarar*. They also taught it to another man who is now dead.

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ferring the creature to some one else when at the point of death, the individual apparently chooses a relative belonging to the same clan as himself; this would be natural if the shark were thought to have been born to an ancestor, as in the case of Togen just quoted. They appear to be definitely associated with persons rather than with places, and so differ from the 'tutelary sharks' described by Ivens (1927, p. 230, &c.). Neither do they correspond exactly to the 'familiar' as described on Ulawa by Ivens (p. 239) and on San Cristoval by Fox (1924, p. 231), for they do not bear the name of the person who is associated with them neither do they die when the man dies. Ivens makes mention of 'incarnations' of the dead as sharks, swordfish, crocodiles, megapodes, &c. (p. 187), but he does not indicate whether any association with these is claimed by living individuals.

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ASSOCIATION OF *URAR* WITH STONES

As well as the association of *urar* with places, described in previous paragraphs, there is a much more intimate connexion between certain *urar* and particular stones or rocks, the locality and names of which are known to all. The *urar* is not supposed merely to inhabit the stone, or the stone to belong to the *urar*, but the two are completely identified, so that the *urar is* the stone. Associated with many such stones is the belief that at night they again become *urar*, or in some cases human beings, and walk about, or go fishing, or dance.

775 778 823

Where the origin of the connexion between the *urar* and the stone is given, the *urar* is certainly thought to be the ghost of a person who has died; but as in many cases no explanation of the identification was forthcoming, I am not able to say whether this holds true of all. In illustration of this belief may be cited the following:

Two women died and became *urar*. Their name was Kakenmon. (The name seems to belong to the two of them together.) Two children went looking for hermit crabs in holes; the two *urar* stole the children, and took them away. The father of the two children lit a fire and made smoke to drive the *urar* away. Now they are stones, they are on the beach at Rata, two stones, two women, the name of the two stones is Kakenmon. At night they are *urar*, and play on the shore; when the sun rises they become stones again.

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A man died and was thrown into the sea. His body came to the surface and drifted, and was caught under some mangroves. Some men who

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775 778 823 539 were fishing saw him sitting on the top of the reef at the edge of the surf. They ran away and told his mother and his wife, who came to look at him. They recognized him, and were glad, but when he saw them he disappeared under a stone. They could not find him again. They brought paint and ornaments and put them on the stone. The man remained fast underneath the stone. Now he is stone, he is called Tchibo, he is at the Passage.

775 778 823 538 Tchibo was pointed out to me. It is a large rock in Buka Passage, just off the end of a small island of which it must once have formed part (Pl. 76). There are many stories about Tchibo; they are related all over Buka and the North Bougainville coast, with appropriate local variations. He is supposed to have stood originally on the east coast of Bougainville, near Numanuma. He wandered all along the north coast, looking for a place to stay, but the *urar* of each place drove him away. After repeated efforts, each detailed in full in the stories with endless repetition, he came to Buka Passage. There he overpowered Hinoal, the *urar* in possession, and remained there altogether. The Petats people say that Hinoal ran away northwards, and as he ran he threw up the reef which now fringes the west coast of Buka, to prevent Tchibo from following him. Tchibo, in pursuit, made the deep channels which break the reef at intervals, through which ships now pass. Finally, Tchibo gave up the chase and went back to the Passage, but Hinoal went on and went on till he came to a certain point on the west coast of Petats. Here a rock named Tabulat called to him to come and join him; so he did. They decided to join forces, and went together back to the Passage and attacked Tchibo. Tabulat cut off Tchibo's legs, and Tchibo fell down and died. Since then he has been a stone and has not wandered any more. Tabulat and Hinoal went back to Petats. They are two rocks on the shore, every Petats native knows how they came to be there. The Tiop people say it was Tchibo who made Tiop into an island; before he broke through it was joined by a narrow isthmus to the mainland of Bougainville. The people of Sapoa say that their culture heroine, Morena, made all the little islands by breaking pieces off Tchibo after he had taken up his position in Buka Passage, and that she provided the people with good water to drink by sending Tchibo to break through the bush and make places for the rivers.

The Tchibo series is the most elaborate and most widely diffused stone-myth that I came across. But there is an almost unlimited

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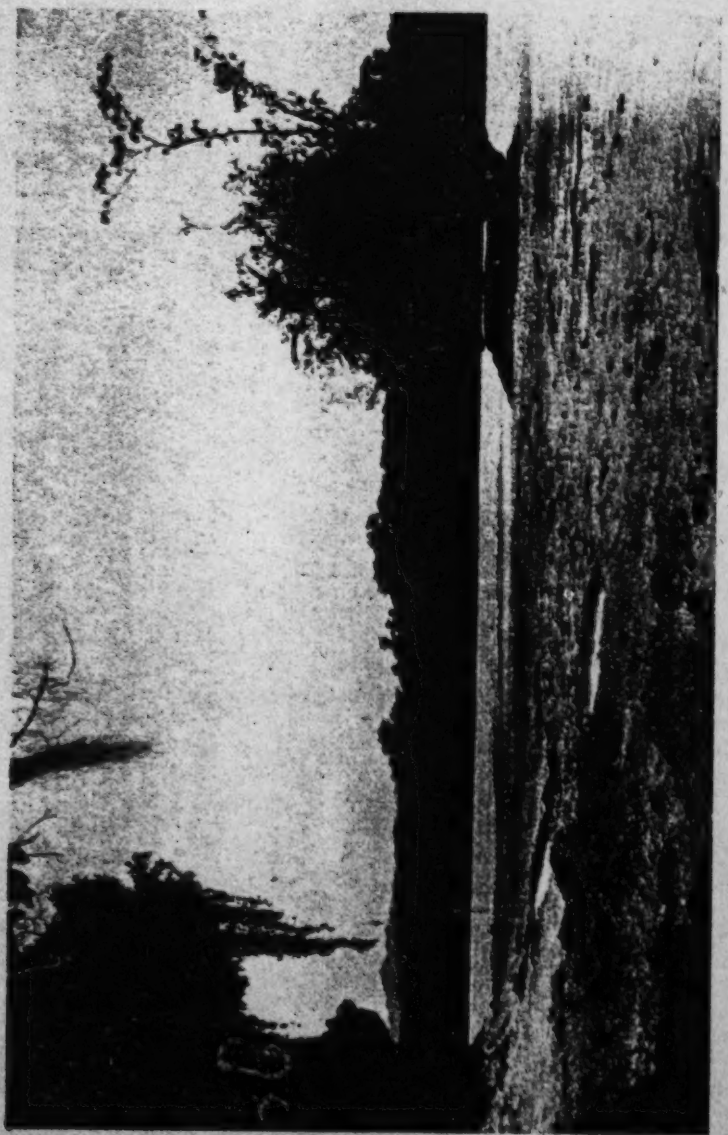
PLATE 76



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THE ROCK TCHIBO, IN BUKA PASSAGE

[facing p 52]

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supply of more or less local stories associating various stones or rocks[1] with *urur* and attributing to them certain powers and activities. I have notes on a number of these, of which the following are given as typical:

Mururi is the name of an *urur*; he is a rock on the beach at Timputs, which has a hole in its base. All the driftwood collects there, but no one takes it for firewood. Once a man did take some, and Mururi was very angry and prevented him from catching any fish. Some one who knew about Mururi told him what he had done.

There is a stone on the beach near Kurtatchi, which is an *urur* called Musinē. At night he becomes a man and goes fishing in the sea. He belongs to the Naboin clan; the Nakarib people cannot see him when he is a man. Once he had a mouth, but the sea dashed a big tree against his mouth and broke it.

Tawalir (the word means 'branch') is a horizontal stalagmitic formation, somewhat resembling the branch of a tree, at the lower edge of a big hole in the limestone cliff near Tabut. The story is that Tawalir used to be several miles farther east, but it quarrelled with another stone there, and said: 'You stop here, I will go and be master at the other point (the other horn of a bay).' So he went across the bay and climbed the cliff to the place where he is now. At night he comes to life and walks about. He is an *urur*.

Ku'enia is a rock on the east coast of Buka, near Malasang. It has a flat top. Fishermen put fish on it for the stone, and the stone eats them.

Matapar is another rock a little farther along the same coast. When men go fishing they take some sand and throw it on to the top of the stone, then plenty of little fish come close inshore.

Tonopoi is a rock which gives a man boils. Then he goes and rubs his boils against the stone, and says: 'Take back what you gave me.' Then the boils get well. This stone belongs to the Nakarib people.

Karakela is a rock which sticks up out of the water. If a very high tide comes and threatens to swamp the shore, the stone calls out and sends it back, saying the sea must not come up and spoil the places where it gets its food.

[1] The native word *soatz* is used for both 'stone' and 'rock', so it is difficult to make a distinction. Those I have seen were in most cases large pieces which had at some time in the past broken away from the cliffs near by.

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775 A stone lying on the ground in the bush at the foot of the cliff
•776 near Lonahan, on the east coast of Buka, is supposed to represent
823 the body of the woman who taught people to eat human flesh, by
538 giving to her daughter and her son-in-law pieces of her own flesh to eat with their taro, saying it was pig. This story is not merely local, I heard it also in several places in North Bougainville. It is given in full in my paper in *Folk-Lore* (1932, pp. 74–6). The stone is called Tchinaleke, which was the name of the woman. It is a block of limestone, of similar formation to the cliff, and much weathered. It bears no traces of human handiwork, but has a rough resemblance to an emaciated woman lying on her side with the legs at right angles, the legs being truncated about a foot from the fork. The head is missing, and is said to have been lost so long ago that no one now living remembers having seen it. The stone is said to turn over once in a while, and point the legs the other way round, and sometimes to lie with the head end pointing towards the sea. Actually, it lies parallel with the coast-line.

A stone which appears to have been of ceremonial significance was reported to me. Unfortunately I discovered its existence too late to visit the spot. My informant had not seen it, and I was unable to get any details as to its shape. It is connected with a man named Tchinakerits, who was killed by a spear and turned into this stone; the stone has the mark of a spear thrust upon it. It was set up at the foot of a banyan tree, but it went back of its own accord to Wanabus, where Tchinakerits lived when he was alive. Now it is on the beach near Timputs. At night it walks about and makes footprints like a man shuffling along. (Here the teller walked about with a shuffling gait to illustrate how the stone is supposed to walk.) In the olden days, when a man died they took the stone out to sea with his body and threw both into the sea together; the stone came back to its place. Then they made a feast at the end of the mourning period, and put lime and ceremonial currency on the stone, and washed the stone. If this were not done, the *urur* of the stone would kill the children of the dead person. I have this information from one informant only, a Timputs man whom I did not know; there is nothing else in my collection exactly comparable, and the subject needs more investigation than I was able to give it.

552 The natives often call stones or rocks of peculiar shape after things or creatures to which they are supposed to bear some resemblance, just as we do ourselves. For example, there are several

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324 —found it in the ground. He set it up in front of his house, which used to stand where the stone now is; the place was once the site of a village. The *tsunaun* of the village gave the man who found it some ceremonial currency for it. He put paint on it, and made a big feast, and gave the stone to Nawi, his sister's daughter, when she was a baby. Nawi is now a girl of about thirteen. The ceremony held when such a stone is given to a child is called *Wawahuŋ*. There were traces of red paint on it and on the little stones. Pinari said that the paint was put on in the same pattern as was used on the heads of the people on ceremonial occasions, a line of black down the middle with broad bands of red on both sides of it. They also put coco-nut oil on the stone, and decorate it with flowers and leaves. Before doing this they kill a pig and cook it, and wash the stone in the water.

776 Nawi has not seen it yet. When she wishes to look at it for the first time she will have to make a feast and take some food and give it to the stone, and the *urar* of the stone will eat it. Then if Nawi wishes to remove the stone and put it in front of her house in the present village of Kurtatchi, it will be all right, but if any one else moved it, it would find its way back.

Stone pillars (?) reported but not visited

324 I was told that there is a stone pillar, said to be similar to the one at Yamē, at Raua Plantation, on the coast of Bougainville several miles to the east of Kurtatchi. Another is reported on the west coast of Buka, near the R.C. Mission at Bonotui. To my great regret, circumstances did not permit of my visiting either of these. As far as my informants knew, there were no designs upon them, but in view of the ignorance of the Iltopan people of the pattern on 'A Pi', concealed as it was by moss and fungus, such reports are probably not to be relied upon.

Stone monument at Tiop

778 At Tiop, an island at the north-eastern corner of Bougainville, there is a group of stones which are not pillars, but flat slabs of limestone, apparently unworked. There is no trace of a design upon them. There are two large slabs and two smaller ones (Pl. 80). One of the large slabs stands upright, the two smaller ones, also upright, are at its base, the other large slab lies flat on the ground. It seemed to be quite firmly embedded, but the natives could give

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

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natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

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killed. In both the stone is washed, the one at Tiop with blood, Mubenoits with the water in which the pig has been cooked. In both paint is put on the stone, and food brought to it. But Mubenoits does not appear to be associated with the cicatrization of children, and the ceremonies held in connexion with it seem, as far as I could gather, to have been inaugurated some little time after what I take to have been its rediscovery in the bush, apparently about a generation ago. Whatever significance the stone now called Mubenoits may originally have possessed was clearly not known to its present owners, who adopted it as important on account of its peculiar appearance, which is in striking contrast to the shapeless chunks of rough honeycombed dolomitic limestone forming the cliffs near by. It seems clear that the Mubenoits ritual is not a survival, but a newly instituted affair. There is a certain amount of intercourse between Kurtatchi and Tiop, so the possibility of borrowing cannot be entirely ruled out. However this may be, there is perhaps some ground on which to base an hypothesis that the stone pillars and the slab-shaped structures at Tiop belong to one and the same series of monuments.

Without laying too much stress on the parallel, it is perhaps worthy of note that stone structures comparable with both of these occur in another area which, though distant, is known to have cultural affinities with Melanesia—the Naga Hills in Assam. There is, at Dimapur in the Naga Hills, a series of ancient monoliths, some of which carry carved patterns bearing a very remarkable resemblance to those on the pillar at Iltopan called 'A Pi'.[1] These appear to have been set up as memorials of feasts, a practice which is still in vogue among the Nagas, as an adjunct to sacrificial ceremonies 'which can only be performed when the giver of the feast enjoys exceptional prosperity', so that the posts now erected 'are associated, even if indirectly, with the fertility of crops and cattle' (Hutton, 1922 (i), p. 57). There is reason to believe that the ancient monuments also possessed a phallic significance, and that they were connected with sacrifices, probably human. I have no evidence that the stone pillars of Buka are regarded as phallic symbols at the present day, but from their appearance it would seem not unlikely that they may originally have been so intended.

[1] These are figured in a paper by J. H. Hutton (1922 (i), Pl. 1). I am indebted to Mr. E. S. Thomas, of the Pitt-Rivers Museum, for drawing my attention to the similarity in design.

shaft. The weaving itself is called tûu (Shortland: nîhamu). This woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft and represents two human figures. This part is called kãgoi (Shortland: kãpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the same is true for the knob that follows it: ûiru (Shortland: zimpu putuna). The ûiru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yellow ring is called zigãre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork, but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only one. The carved ornament, kãgoi, and the sphere that follows it, ûiru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to explain it fully. According to the information I received kãgoi seems to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "it sees the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye," that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong kãpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the kãpoina or the kãgoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

4: Thomas U-5 (no date) 1931 ON6 Buka ON6
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fighting-men. This change is but another proof of the decadence of old-time customs in Buka.

Initiates of today range from nine to fifteen years of age. They undergo no particular preparation other than strict instructions to do as they are told by the older men. Initiates are called *tseezen*, those already initiated are termed *putz-putzi*, and the chiefs, masters and headmen are known as *muri-na-lium*.

When a meeting of *muri-na-lium* decides to hold a Ndook ceremony (such decision being governed by the number of candidates available) word is sent to all *putz-putzi* one or two months prior to the fixed date. A general meeting is held and ways and means decided upon for obtaining taro; the making of *makot* (scraped taro and coconut oil); the guests to be invited; those *muri-na-lium* who will exhibit totem figures, and the number of *bahuan* figures that will be made. The supplying of pigs is left to one or two of the older chiefs who secretly despatch a third man to the houses of owners of good fat pigs. This man stealthily thrusts a thick stick, used for carrying trussed pigs, through the doors of the pig-owners. This is a direct sign from Ndook that the owner must provide a pig for the spirit. Failure to do so would entail death. Such penalties have been enforced even of late years.

The totem figures are called *malai*, and are representative of either the *kekiliau* (bush fowl) or *naboin* (sea hawk) totems, which are the only two existing in Buka. The figures, carved from soft timber, take the form of a huge bird gaudily painted with native pigments, stencil ink purloined from some neighbouring plantation, or washing blue. They represent the spirit of a deceased chief or headman belonging to the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting the *malai*. Usually four or five *malai* appear at a ceremony from one village.

The *bahuan*, or secondary spirits (considering Ndook as being of the first order), consist of wooden images seven to eight feet high carved also from soft wood (see Plate II, A). They are attached at the base to long sticks which enable them to be lifted by the *putz-putzi*, who are covered with leaves or bushes. The *bahuan* also represent deceased chiefs of the same totem as the *muri-na-lium* exhibiting them. Keen rivalry is evinced in making these carvings. Sometimes the arms, mouth, tongue, penis or hands are manipulated

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776 by means of a string. The *bahuan* shown in Plate II, B, was ac-
778 claimed a work of art by the spectators. It consisted of a frame-
532 work of rattan covered with black calico, beneath which a *muri-na-lium* danced and gyrated.

881 Ceremonies are held in a special taboo area upon which no
688 woman is permitted at any time to tread. Any matters connected with Ndook are kept strictly secret from the women (*be-hay*, as Ndook has named them). If one of them trespasses on this ground, catches sight of a carving to be used in a ceremony, or acquires any knowledge of the Ndook, she is put to death even today.

881 A week to ten days prior to the date of the ceremony *putz-putzi*
776 are detailed to wander about the taboo ground operating the *liahan* and *rago*. The former is a bull-roarer which is looked upon as being the voice of the chief spirit or god. (The word *liahan* seems to signify god rather than a spirit, inasmuch as Liahan is the omnipotent creator of everything. He is invisible, and no attempt has been made to create his likeness in an image as has been done to spirits.)
[534] The *rago* is an oscillatory-ribbon-reed instrument[3] consisting of a portion of a coconut leaf tied between two thin strips of stick and fastened into half a coconut shell. A shrill piercing note is given out when the instrument is blown upon. The *rago* represents the cry of Ndook's wife. These cries are continued throughout the days and nights prior to the ceremony and increase in volume and frequency as the appointed day approaches. Along certain highways the travels of Ndook are marked by bushes being trampled down and small trees uprooted.

881 Guests from neighbouring islands arrive quietly during the night prior to the ceremony and land near the ceremonial ground, keeping hidden from any women and *tseezen*.

When all preparations have been made, *bahuan* and *malai* completed, beds for food erected, and the various *putz-putzi* detailed to their tasks of operating the *bahuan*, carrying *malai* or merely to act as members of the attacking party, the *tseezen* are called from their respective houses by six or seven *muri-na-lium*. They emerge
[384] half-fearfully with painted faces and hair oiled and smeared with

[3] *Notes and Queries*, Fifth Ed., page 303.

881 breach is death. The chief now gives each initiate a new name,
[553] which must never be changed or dropped. The names chosen are those of deceased *putz-putzi*, who thus continue, in name, to be present at such ceremonies. This custom is for the pleasure of Ndook as well as for the spirits of the departed.

While this is in progress one or more *muri-na-lium* visit the village where the women are still wailing and relate how So-and-so has been dissected by Ndook: his legs are in one island, his head in another, and his arms in still another. Occasionally one of the men smears his body with pig's blood and, standing before several of the women, relates how he was holding his child when Ndook killed him in his arms. Similar anecdotes are related by the newly initiated when they return to their mothers. The explanation for their safe return is that after Ndook had appeased his appetite with pig and taro he relented and restored them to their mothers.

Food is then divided, and as each section or village receives its portion, the men, placing the baskets on their heads, dance in the centre of the ground. They then retire to consume the food, which is known as *goagon* (sacred food). The women are not told that the men eat the food, which is ostensibly supplied for the consumption of Ndook, who if not well fed will wreak his vengeance upon the initiates. All traces of food are removed from the person and hands and faces washed before the men return to the village. They usually pretend to be hungry, and ask at once for something to eat.

842 The natives of Pororan believe that if a married man has sexual
845 intercourse with his wife on the same night that he returns from a ceremony then she will bear twins. If a pregnant woman crosses the path made by Ndook in his travels the child when born will be deformed.

177 The inclusion of the wooden carvings in the Pororan Ndook
● 778 ceremony is only of very recent origin, dating from 1928. They are
89 copies of the images used in the Sailou district, north Bougainville,
[532] where initiation ceremonies form a far more important part of the ceremonial life than on Buka. These images were first imported
[533] into Malasang district, south Buka, in about 1920, being purchased with native money. From here they found their way to Hanahan. Prior to this date there were no images, and the ceremony consisted

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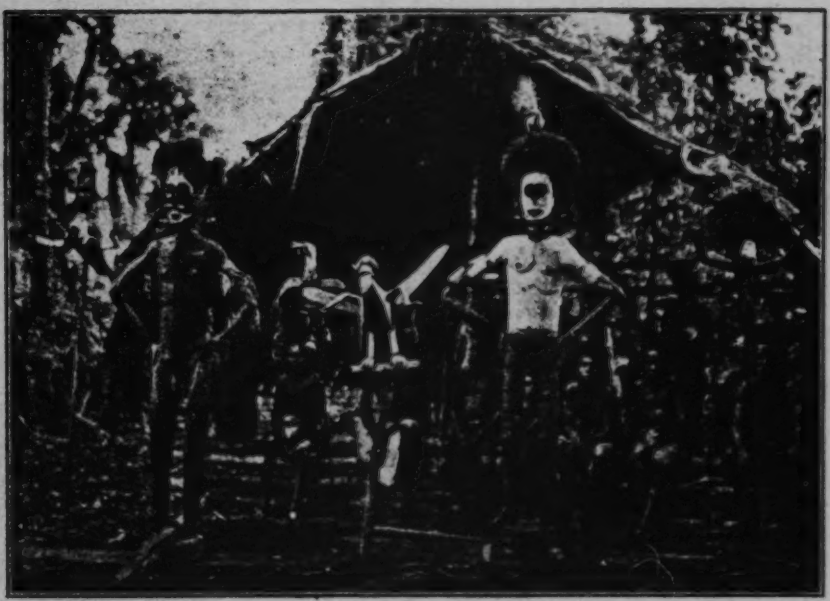

CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS OF THE NATIVES OF BUKA. PLATE II.
A. *Two* bahuan *and four* malai *images.* B. *A group of* tseezen *and* putz-putzi *with a* bahuan *image.*

[p. 230(B)]

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chiefly of lewd dancing and feasting. Boys were often initiated when little more than babies. They were snatched from their mothers' arms and taken to the bush. Coconut water was poured over them and their skins covered with broken pieces of leaf and grass. On being returned to their mothers it was explained that the children had been eaten by Ndook, passed through his stomach and evacuated. The slime and grass gave proof to this story.

Though great importance is attached to this ceremony now, I am of the opinion that the clandestine feasting and the desire to exhibit better images than other districts are of greater import to the *muri-na-lium* than the actual initiation ceremony. The prominence which is given to the *bahuan* and *malai* images seems to point to a form of spirit cult which is of but recent introduction. The time devoted to the *tseezen* is negligible in comparison with the labour expended upon the carvings, the preparation of food and the various deceptions practised upon the women.

The legend regarding the discovery of the *liahan* seems to point to the fact that the original idea of the Ndook ceremony was to enable the men to foregather secretly in the bush and there gorge themselves with food and give vent to lewd dances without the encumbrance or interference of the women.

The *liahan* or bull-roarer according to Pororan legend was discovered by a woman while she was cutting firewood in the bush. A piece of the wood hurtled through the air and made a mysterious noise. Curiosity prompted her to tie a piece of vine to the wood and whirl it about her head. Picking up her bundle of firewood she placed the thin blade with the vine attached on top and started homeward. On her way she met her husband, who noticed the blade and enquired the reason for the attached vine. She gave him an illustration. He confiscated it and showed it to several of the headmen. It was a novelty, something which had never been seen before. They decided it should be used as the voice of the god or spirit Liahan. The women was killed and the secret kept only amongst the older men. They said that the omnipotent Liahan was demanding food. When it had been collected this food was taken into the bush and eaten by the headmen and the chiefs.

GORDON THOMAS